The COMMONWEAL

VOLUME XXXVI *June* 19, 1942 NUMBER 9

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THE COMMONWEAL *is indexed in the Reader's Guide, Catholic Periodical Index* and *Catholic Bookman.*

Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York
Annual Subscription: U. S. and Canada, $5.00; Foreign, $6.00

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War Aims in the Raw

LAST WEEK we analyzed from a strictly "realistic" point of view, the announced war aims of Soviet Russia, and we said that from such a point of view, her "claims are reasonable—if not moderate." To have to make such an admission to the Finns, the Letts, the Lithuanians, the Poles, the Rumanians, people who have done us no harm and most of whom are our fellow-Christians, is no easy or comfortable thing. They have aspired to independence, to sovereignty, in the almost religious belief that such is the inherent right of every social group which feels itself to be a nation, and in the mind of justice they find their justification.

Unfortunately the mind of justice takes in a vast area and it is not uncommon for one just thing to be in conflict with another—a conflict demanding resolution rather than presenting an alternative. We also insisted that if Russia is to "take over" the Baltic States as well as slices of Poland and Rumania, she must be required to supply the best guarantees we can obtain that she will not seek to crush in these people the things these people cherish—their language, their religion, their culture. The happiest solution of all would be genuine federation, with real autonomy in the federated members and real unity in their joint policy; and the geographical make-up of such federations would have to be built upon thoroughly "realistic" considerations.

In his book, "Conditions of Peace," to be published within the next few days, Edward Hallett Carr, a Welsh student of international politics, profoundly and with much common sense discusses the question of self-determination for small national groups. One of his paragraphs admirably summarizes the trouble:

> The present war has revealed the empty character of the formal independence enjoyed by small states. The only choice now open to them is a policy of peace at any price, which is the negation of a policy; and the humiliations entailed by it, even where it succeeds in sparing them the physical horror of war, have been amply illustrated by such countries as Sweden and Turkey. Small states can no longer balance themselves in dignified security on the tight-rope of neutrality. Still less can they rely on an indeterminate system of collective security which leaves open the identity of the future enemy and the future ally. The small country can survive only by seeking permanent association with a Great Power. The mutual obligation which such association will involve cannot be limited to the contingent liability to do certain things in certain eventualities—the most that the League Covenant ever sought to achieve. It must be a continuing obligation to pursue a common military and economic policy and to pool military and economic resources under some form of common control. Experience has shown conclusively that nothing less than this can in modern conditions assure a reasonable degree of military security. The right of national self-determination is conditioned by this military necessity.

Apply these general statements to the situation in Eastern Europe and their cogency is apparent. None of the new post-War states were strong enough to guarantee their own security, and on their tight-ropes of neutrality they soon began to play against each other. Poland would not support Czechoslovakia against Munich; Hungary carried on a running territorial dog-fight with Rumania. In the end, each was humiliated and made into a satrapy of the Great Power best able to exert pressure. In the light of such experience, absolute sovereignty for small countries is in most cases self-defeating folly.

Yet there are many sincere and liberal-minded persons who are horrified at the thought of a United Nations compact admitting Russia's claims along her western frontier. Of course—and this cannot be too much emphasized—these claims must not be admitted to the point of absolute possession, absolute absorption of all these border peoples into the Soviet system, lock, stock and barrel. That would be tragic. But it would be equally tragic to spurn the Russian demands, for to do this would merely end in precisely the kind of total absorption we should seek to resist. A victorious Russia, having borne the heat and burden of the day, will not calmly accept the decisions of British or American doctrinaire idealism. It is therefore wiser to make the best, the most just bargain we can rather than truly to sell the border peoples down the river by insisting upon what the Russians consider politically and militarily impossible.

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Of course, the whole situation in Eastern Europe—now and post-war—defies the American imagination. The campaign in Russia is probably being carried on with a ferocity and a disregard for the decencies beyond our conceiving. We have inferential evidence for this in what we know went on before Brest-Litovsk in the last war and during the Russian Civil War. The fact that we hear nothing whatever of German prison camps for Russian prisoners or Russian camps for Axis prisoners, coupled with the refusal of the Soviet authorities to allow allied military observers in combat zones, gives rise to the suspicion that "no quarter" has been the rule rather than the exception on both sides. And we know that life in the Socialist Paradise has always been very cheap, just as it has been in the *Herrenvolk* Valhalla. The cheaper life is held, the easier it is to accept blood vengeance and hatred as the only possible things, and it is in such an atmosphere that peace will come in Eastern Europe. In Jugoslavia. In Greece. In Czechoslovakia. In Poland. In Germany and Hungary and Austria. Dragon's teeth are pushing their roots down into the subsoil, waiting to sprout forth in serried rows. We read of no Russian general lecturing his German captives on their strategical errors, of no German fliers with full military honors giving their Soviet foes urn-burial.

The prospect, then, is bloody. And in all charity our wisest course at present seems to be one of yielding something here in order to gain something there. Adamantine adherence to a "principle" on our part—a principle in itself of very dubious wisdom—will only encourage homicidal mania in lands where we cannot conceivably exercise any physical control. To dream of the restoraton of a 1939 world is to dream of something we should have learned to abhor, and if we truly desire a better, then let us study how to avoid a worse.

Bridge to Europe

IN A campaign which may have wearied many of our readers we have insisted again and again that the United States maintain diplomatic relations with the French Government. We based our position on a primary necessity of maintaining contact with the people of France, and through them with all the peoples now subject to German rule in Europe, and we intended through this contact to uphold their hopes of liberation. We were convinced that on the day American diplomacy could no longer speak directly to Europeans and could no longer match German threats with our determination, the German proposal of European unity with our promise of world freedom—the evidence of German military strength with the actual facts of our war effort—France, and Europe, would feel that a war between continents had commenced. And feeling this, would feel abandoned to whatever fate might befall Europe.

We urged too, as an integral part of this policy, that shipments of food be made to France as evidence of our fraternal interest in the French people. The Society of Friends, for which all European nations and our own have the highest respect, gave repeated and public assurance that this food was highly needed and that its distribution could be effected without benefiting the Germans. It seemed, and seems to us, that this policy constitutes the inevitable preliminary pledge that Vice President Wallace means what he says when he promises the world that this war is being fought to assure everyone, everywhere, enough to eat. Those who are dying now of starvation would like a small advance on promised plenty.

On the day Laval came to power two ships already loaded were in New York harbor ready to sail. They did not sail.

We know all the difficulties of tonnage, but this was not a question of tonnage; this was simply unimaginative hesitation on the part of someone in authority, and it is the type of performance which gives, too often, the impression that our policy toward France remains uncertain. However, we are still represented in France if only by a chargé d'affaires. Admiral Leahy, for whose work in France Americans will have enduring cause to be grateful, has come home. In his first press conference he states with the authority of the man who has been on the spot the reasons for which his mission can be judged successful. These reasons apply to the past and to the future.

"The people of France are practically unanimously pro-American and hopeful of a defeat of the Axis powers. . . . They are suffering from a complete military defeat, are unorganized, inarticulate and have no influence whatever on the composition or policy of the government. There is, however, no other agency than the government through which we can maintain contact with the French people. Maintenance of diplomatic relations with the changing government of France has, up to the present time, made it possible to assist the French people in keeping alive their hope for an eventual deliverance from their oppressors. Maintenance of diplomatic relations has also made it possible to keep the government of France informed as to the attitude of the United States toward action that has been contemplated from time to time by the Axis powers to further their war effort and so far as I know, except for the agreement entered into between France and Japan in Indo-China, no positive action as yet taken by the Marshal's government since the armistice has been of material military assistance to the Axis powers."

A bridge to Europe will be built by invasion, a bridge to Europe should be built also by the

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boats bringing food to the starving; meanwhile, the bridge of diplomacy remains miraculously intact. That bridge is anchored in France.

The Tactics of John L. Lewis

FEW Americans are particularly happy today over the current struggle between the United Mine Workers and the CIO. Chiefly because such disputes usually lead to jurisdictional strikes which would mean war work stoppages at the very time we can least afford them. Although peace feelers have recently gone out from AFL to CIO and from CIO to AFL, they can hardly be expected to be more than politic gestures. To iron out the complex jurisdictional questions that now prevent AFL-CIO harmony, if not amalgamation, would prove too catastrophic for a period when uninterrupted national production is of the essence. But for the duration the AFL and CIO can presumably get along together moderately well in the national interest without losing sight of their more long-term objectives. The latest John L. Lewis drive—his attempt to organize a third powerful national labor organization—is the one immediate storm element on the labor relations scene.

American labor leaders, generally, are more than expert in keeping their own counsel. Few of the rank and file (any more than the general public) know what goes on behind executive committee scenes. And the present course of John L. Lewis is particularly unrevealing. While striking out against the CIO which he so ably built up, weaning away such affiliates as the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee into the United Mine Workers' non-geographical District 50, he has been mending his fences with the AFL carpenters' and teamsters' unions. It can hardly be a matter of mere personal or political pique that leads him to whittle away at a CIO he no longer controls and to seek to build up his United Mine Workers into a powerful opposition group. The old feud with Sidney Hillman of the Textile workers or the new break-up with Philip Murray, now elected president of CIO's newly-constituted United Steelworkers of America, will hardly explain what he is up to. The skill he has displayed in the past indicates that John L. has some more positive objective in mind. He is not rocking the boat at a time like this out of spite or simply for the fun of it. And if he is seeking a new foothold toward undisputed leadership of the American labor movement after the war, we should like to know something of his platform. On such subjects as collaboration with the labor movement in other countries, labor's rôle in post-war politics, its part in the management of industry and other more important objectives—if not his own ambitions—we should like to know what Mr. Lewis has in mind.

Two Horns of a Heresy

RECENT newspapers show in accidental contiguity two items which define as clearly as needs to be done the two opposite excesses in the most deeply rooted modern heresy. One relates that Lord Horder, the king's physician, told the British Social Hygiene Conference that the white races have gone on a birth strike: "passive resistance in the production of citizens," brought about by "the determination of the individual to get control of [their] replacement," whereas "population should be considered in terms of the whole world, because an impact of the East upon the West is an inevitable factor in human history." Of course this statement takes no account—nor do we in these sentences—of purely involuntary deterrents to reproduction. The second item summarizes Mr. Archibald MacLeish's address at the Smith College commencement, which made the point that in the nazi state, "women are, first, bearers of children . . .; are taught the holy obligation of the wife without exercising the right of personal choice." Here are the results of individualism in excess on the one hand, the virtual destruction of individual dignity on the other; and yet these two dark negations of racial and moral health come ultimately from the same place; from neglect of the Christian teaching regarding the human personality. For whatever rule or instinct keeps the tide of life strong and high among pagan peoples, those of the Christian society, whose minds are still profoundly conditioned by the Christian leaven, cannot safely approach individual or social living on any other terms. Theirs can never again be the unconsciousness, the moral unawakenedness, which keeps veritable paganism partly innocent and preserves for it continuity and even a certain health in the old, unquestioned pattern.

To the Christian, the human person must forever forward be the person as Christ sees it: an entity of incomputable worth, calling out the last supreme measure of His saving love. Only a full sense of this worth of the personality will save our society. Its partial reflection in political demacracy and the tradition of merely human dignity, though authentic, is not enough. There must be the complete, the religious realization of the preciousness of each being, which carries with it the definition of his high and noble and hard and enduring responsibility. This will restore integity to the love between men and women; this will rehabilitate the family as the place through whose agency souls come into being and are fostered with watchful love to full stature. For Christians, there is no other way. No graph of falling birth-rates, no bounties for births, no imaginary pitting of East against West, and finally, no enslavement of women to produce citizens and soldiers, will check our relaxing hold on life.

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Righting the Russian Balance

An attempt to appraise the meager facts at hand.

By **Helen Iswolsky**

EVERYONE agrees today that the Russian people's struggle against Hitler is a sign of a genuine and dynamic fighting spirit, which has withstood for eleven months the most formidable of aggressors. But though unanimously recognized, this spirit is as yet inaccurately interpreted in certain circles, where cooperation with Russia and aid to Russia is still envisaged exclusively as an alliance with communism.

The belief that communism, clothed in a new nationalist garb, yet active as a doctrine and as a world conception, has been the *only* force capable of "stopping Hitler" is fortified by various unfortunate forms of propaganda. There certainly has been a "concerted effort to sell the Soviets to the public," as Mr. Philip Burnham put it in THE COMMONWEAL. Some have sought to prove that communism as such was a no doubt ruthless yet indispensable machine to set the Russian steamroller in motion. A system which would be unthinkable in civilized countries trained along the lines of democracy may be, they believe, the very one to work efficiently in "backward Russia," accustomed to a centuries-old autocratic rule. Others again have pointed out, with no great conviction, however, that communism has become an obsolete creed and is nothing more than the façade of the Soviet Government.

Unfortunately it is extremely difficult to discuss or analyze these judgments because of our lack of information concerning present conditions in the USSR. The reports of journalists who have visited the Soviet Union are interesting enough (Alexander Werth's book merits special attention), but they either intentionally evade our problem or treat it rapidly and superficially. When we learn, for instance, from a Kuibyshev correspondent that getting *borsch* for dinner and respecting religious faith are both representative of the Soviet national revival (New York *Times*, April 25) we most certainly do not feel particularly enlightened.

There exist, nevertheless, certain data, collected from unofficial travelers in Russia as well as from articles or even hints appearing here and there in the press which, if carefully sifted, will permit us to draw a more complete picture.

In the fall of 1941 a lady who journeyed from Moscow to Siberia immediately after Hitler's attack described in a vivid interview[1] the various traveling companions she had met on her way. Amongst them she had been particularly struck by an army captain, a typical representative of the Soviet military élite. This man, who must have been about forty, was a former workman, a veteran of the civil wars, and had participated in fighting in China and against the Japanese on Lake Khassan. Well disciplined, polite, serious and well read, this man incarnated a profoundly patriotic spirit. "He spoke little of his past," the lady related, "for apparently it did not match with Soviet conceptions. . . . He was not a communist . . . perhaps even a member of the opposition. . . . He never mentioned the Soviet Union or the USSR, but always said 'Russia,' 'We Russians,' 'the Russian Army,' etc. . . . He thus seemed to express an opposition state of mind. . . ."

The lady, who had lived in Moscow before the war, probably still considered that to speak of Russia instead of the USSR showed in a Soviet citizen a definite spirit of opposition. And there may have been some truth in her estimate, as at the time she gave her interview there undoubtedly existed a cleavage between the orthodox communist outlook (still fundamentally international) and the national conception formed by non-communists in the Soviet Union.

But now let us quote from another interview,[2] given only a few months later in New York by a mechanic serving on an American transport shipping US armaments to Russia. Having visited the port of Archangel late in 1941, this seaman declared that he was particularly impressed by the *unanimous patriotic feeling* of the Russians. Never had he witnessed, he said, such a tension of all national energies:

> What is most remarkable is that the only common ideology is not a "class" or "party" ideology, but the slogan "for Russia, for the Fatherland." . . . More correctly speaking, even Party propaganda sets forth that very slogan. And when I spoke to people, I often heard them say, "For Holy Russia, for Mother-Russia."

It is obvious that these patriotic slogans no longer convey a "dissident spirit." And if we

[1] Interview with Mrs. E. C. Stevenson reported from Shanghai to *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, the Russian daily published in New York City, September 25, 1941.

[2] *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, January 7, 1942.

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turn to the Soviet press itself, we shall find no mention whatever of "class" or "party" ideology. The official Soviet organs, *Pravda, Izvestia,* speak exclusively of *"National War,"* the very terms used in 1812 during Napoleon's invasion.

One of the most interesting features of this national war is precisely the fact that the impact of the gigantic struggle is altering not only the ideology but the political structure of the USSR. But this is not thanks to Stalin himself or to the Communist Party as such; it is thanks to the necessities created by the war and by the new forces it has set into motion.

According to an article recently published in America by D. Dalin, a well-informed and unbiased Russian socialist, these new forces are represented on the one hand by the army men, who are naturally playing the leading rôle in present momentous events and amongst whom the percentage of active communists has considerably dwindled, and on the other hand by the so-called "Soviet-Apparatus," that is, by the various branches of civil institutions, such as public economy, finances, education, the trade unions, etc. According to Mr. Dalin, this "Apparatus" already comprised before the war "hundreds of thousands of non-party men and the essential elements of the old and new intelligentsia. There were among them a number of discontented and even opposition elements. In a certain sense the Soviet civil institutions represented the Soviet people weighing against the political and Party machine. . . . The military institutions also became a great political force within the country, and its leaders, inspired most of all by the needs and interests of their profession, conflicted more and more with the party and the police."[3]

* * *

This conflict led to the purges and great trials of 1936-39, and seemed to end in the victory of the Party and the police. But about the middle of 1941, according to Mr. Dalin, the equilibrium of forces underwent another important change. The war obviously strengthened the military institutions, while the Party staff not only suffered casualties at the front, but lost a great deal of its prestige. Before the war, the percentage of Party-men, including communist youth, was 50 or even 100 among military commanders. Today no such proportion exists, and the high military schools are intensively training non-Party officers. As to the rank and file, it has become a *peasant army*. "The Red Army," writes Mr. Dalin, "is that very same Soviet people, clothed in uniforms and carrying rifles."

It is obvious, moreover, that the civil institutions, with their "hundreds of thousands of non-Party men," are also taking an active part in national defense. Here again we find the "Soviet people" at work, and no purges and trials could now check their most useful and indispensable activity. There have even been cases where specialists and technicians, deported or imprisoned in 1936-39, have been released and entrusted with responsible tasks. Such cases were reported by the mechanic from Archangel.

Another interesting development is that not only the front but the rear is controlled by the army. The Soviet correspondent of the *Robotnik Polsky*[4] reports that the Soviet Union is today actually ruled by a military dictatorship. All responsible posts in the commissariates of the Interior, Industry, Transportation and Security are filled by army men. Rationing, lodging, travel are regulated by men wearing military uniform. The prestige of the Communist Party, which has considerably waned, is still maintained by the fact that Stalin is head of the nation and of the Army. But the military machine has the advantage of performing its work swiftly and efficiently, thus suppressing the intolerable routine of Soviet bureaucracy. It can be also surmised that rules and regulations applied by these men in military uniform are more willingly accepted and obeyed by the population than those which were enforced in the past by Party men and the hated GPU.

All this does not permit us to conclude that communism has faded out of Russia. As Mr. Dalin points out in his article, the existence of an armed people free from communist ideology does not mean that the Party is making voluntary concessions. It still maintains its political commissars and political instructors in *every military staff and every army unit.* The Soviet papers continually harp on the importance of the jobs these Party men are fulfilling at the front and laud their courage. They describe extraordinary feats of bravery performed by them and the heavy responsibilities they assume. They are supposed to accomplish the most difficult tasks. According to *Pravda* (January 16, 1942) the Political Commissars are the "true inspirers of the fighters[5] and commanders; they raise their morale, help them to master military technique, supervise supplies of food and ammunition." Judging from these official Soviet organs, it is the Party men who lead the Russian people on to victory. But we have already seen that their number is dwindling, and an active propaganda has been recently started in order to replenish the Party ranks, or, as they are called, "Party Cadres."

The lack of cadres is also felt in the rear, where the communists would like to assume the leading

[3] *Novoye Russkoye Slovo,* April 18, 1942.

[4] Polish organ published in New York (March 29, 1942).

[5] In the Soviet vocabulary a soldier is always called a "fighter."

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rôle, and where, as has been pointed out above, the civil and military authorities are becoming more and more active. Mobilization and casualties have taken a heavy toll on active communists who formerly controlled city and rural life. As an example, we quote from *Pravda* (January 6) the case of a village somewhere near Kuibychev where instead of 15 picked and well-trained Party men, who acted as supervisors in the past, now only six *local,* that is, unqualified, communists are at work. And what is happening in one village can probably be said of many.

The fate of communism in Russia can be reduced in the long run to an automatic process: the ruling minority which was in time of peace sufficient to maintain the authority of the totalitarian system is being gradually absorbed by a *totally-mobilized* non-Party population.

* * *

These various sidelights on conditions in the USSR seem to show that, magnificent as it is, Russian resistance has not been a smooth and well ordered march of a people under the guidance of *one* leader and *one* ideology. It has been rather an elemental surge of national spirit roused by aggression. Perhaps what best symbolizes Russia today is not what is said and thought at the Kremlin, but what is said and thought at *Partisansk,* that strange, almost legendary city, or rather immense camp, erected by the partisans somewhere in the enemy's rear among the ruins of a burnt down town. From this mysterious center daily attacks are launched against the nazis; *Partisansk* possesses its post office, radio station and newspaper, but there do not seem to be any political commissars or instructors around the place.

In Field Marshal von Reichenau's order seized by the Red Army after the recapture of Kalinin, the nazi Commander-in-Chief instructed his troops not to spare the partisans and their companions, the "female freaks," not to feed the refugees and the disabled. Buildings should be destroyed. . . . "No historical or artistic monuments of the East have any value," the Field Marshal's order explained. One can be sure that such an order, fallen into the hands of the Russian Army, did more to bolster up morale than the propaganda of officially appointed agents.

Von Reichenau's instructions, which were published in the Soviet press on January 15, contain another item worthy of attention. The Field Marshal complains that "anti-Soviet elements" do not offer sufficient cooperation with the occupying forces. This remark proves two facts of considerable interest: first, that anti-soviet, that is anti-communist elements, *exist* in occupied territory; second, that *they do not cooperate* with the Germans. Thus Hitler's initial intention of making Russians fight against Russians in an "anti-communist crusade" has met with complete failure. However dissatisfied certain elements of the Russian population may have been with Stalin's régime, and however dissatisfied they still may be, the hatred of the aggressor is at the present moment stronger than any tendency toward political unrest.

If we look back on Russian history, we find similar phenomena. Thus during the 1812 invasion, the rumor was spread that Napoleon was going to liberate the Russian peasants from serfdom. All liberal-minded Russians were against serfdom, and the peasants often rose in revolt against their masters. But no one in Russia was inclined to accept liberation from the invader's hands. There was, so to say, a counter movement: certain units of the peasant militia which had been mobilized to fight the French started a rebellion against their officers; the slogan of these mutineers was: "Let us march and defeat the enemy, and then we shall beseech the Tzar to free us in reward for victory. . . ."

That such moods may still exist in the USSR is a possibility which must be weighed—though it is probable that they will not manifest themselves in rebellion, but in a continual growth and development of that opposition spirit which existed before the war in more or less latent form among the Soviet people. The latter may claim freedom in reward for services rendered. It may demand as a minimum of concession the *mere application* of Stalin's Constitution, which exists only on paper.

The people who are "selling the Soviets to the public" too often ignore the facts behind the scenes of Soviet military activity, and communist propaganda will certainly be careful not to reveal them. Neither will the public at large seek to examine them too closely. The current attitude is to consider the Russian soldiers as excellent material to be used against Hitler, without troubling much about their political, social or merely human aspirations.

* * *

The Soviet people have been wise enough voluntarily to put aside these aspirations in order to unite in a common, essentially national and profoundly disinterested struggle against the foreign enemy. This revelation of a remarkable spirit of national self-preservation reminds us of another page of Russian history. Speaking of the reign of John the Terrible, who both in ruthlessness and shrewdness was Stalin's worthy precursor, the famous Russian historian Kliutchevsky wrote that this monarch's terrorist rule "revolted the moral sense of Christian society."

> Yet this society suffered in silence. . . . The people were oppressed and murmured. But there was no shadow of

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> an open protest. . . . It seemed that . . . a population of many millions had forgotten that the measure of patience can be exhausted. . . . It was as if a higher interest dominated society, its inner conflicts and dissensions, not permitting a final rift, forcing it against its will to act in unison. This higher interest was the defense of the State against foreign enemies.

This indeed is a very different picture from those offered by conventional historians. It was not the autocratic rule of John the Terrible that saved Russia in those days, but the profound national instinct of the people, who can be considered as the genuine builders of Russian power.

And if this was true of sixteenth-century Russia, it still remains true today. It was in the name of that very same *higher interest* that the unanimity cited by the mechanic from Archangel was created in the USSR. It was the great miracle of 1941-42. How numerous were the difficulties overcome during the first month of nazi aggression we shall perhaps never be fully aware. But in a recent editorial the usually well informed London *Nineteenth Century and After* (April, 1942) writes as follows:

> The Russians have recovered in a political and in a military sense. They were near political as well as military defeat in October. . . . The Russian situation began to resemble the French as it was just before the fall of Paris.

The author speaks of "widespread apathy" amongst the Russian civilian population during the first period of the war. The people took little part in the "scorched earth policy" which was carried out by the troops, and not by the peasants, naturally loath to destroy their crops, nor by the townspeople. . . . "Many Russian towns which were said to have been destroyed before the Germans' advance were found on recapture to have been but slightly damaged. . . . But the destruction of industrial plants, machinery, power stations was very great." This and the withdrawal of qualified workers deprived, according to the editorial, the enemy of the fruits of victory. The author further states that the time element was essential in rebuilding Russian morale. The immense distances which the nazis had to cover slowed down the Blitz and removed "one of the chief causes of possible collapse—surprise." Then the German reverse at Rostov "began to produce a psychological transformation. . . . The enemy, although but a few miles from Moscow and with nothing in between, no longer appeared invincible . . ." And yet, "So sure were the Germans of a final success, that they began to move tanks, artillery and munitions out of Russia in the first half of October."[6]

This turn of the tide in Russian resistance probably coincided with the powerful surge of elemental national feelings we have described above, which saved the Soviet Union at the most critical moment of its history. The *Nineteenth Century* praises the "toughness of the Russian soldier," adding: "Nothing, it would seem, no political system, can wholly corrupt the primitive and yet so richly endowed spirit of the Russian people." And the editorial concludes: Russia's "home front is secure for a long time to come, and her battle front has acquired solidarity, as well as resilience. Even if Moscow were to be captured . . . the point of psychological collapse will not recur for a long time, if at all."

These heartening words can only encourage us to consider with calm and assurance Hitler's coming summer campaign whose prologue we are already witnessing. As events unfold themselves each of us experiences a mingled feeling of hope and apprehension. But it is well, at least for the time being, to form a correct picture of the various forces active in the Soviet Union and not to be content with the conventional descriptions offered by pro-communist or anti-communist propaganda. What is at stake today is not communism, but the destiny of the Russian people linked to the destiny of the great democracies.

[6] The withdrawal of German armored divisions from Russia before the recapture of Rostov was also noted by Mr. Sulzberger in the New York *Times*.

Lines for a Feast of Our Lady

What shall be added to your praises?
The lip-worn, love-worn, heart-worn phrases
centuries out of choir and cell
and field and vineyard praise you well.
Like bells over the spinning earth
hour upon hour they tell your worth.
You are the Mother of Delight.
Over the sea you are the bright
star shining. You are the ivory tower,
the ark of gold, the immortal flower
blossoming on a mortal root,
the good tree bringing forth good fruit.
You are the cloud raining the Just One.
Fair as the moon and bright as the sun,
out of the desert light of day
terrible as an army in array,
you come—the Gate of Heaven to heaven's gate.
What can be added to your state?
The vast uncountable choir of voices
down aisles of centuries rejoices;
in endless litany proclaims
the fertile flowering of your names.
Hell will not thank you nor death raise
its voice. Only the living praise.
Then shed your grace upon the mind
that we here in these deeps may find
the words we seek, that like a vine
with strong roots in the soul may shine
the litany that climbs and grows
upon the lattice of the Rose.

SISTER MARIS STELLA.

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Ghandi and Ourselves

The meaning of victory.

By M. A. Couturier

I BELIEVE that no one read without profound emotion the words of Ghandi to Eve Curie, which Miss Curie published in this country last month. It is to our honor, to the honor of all of us, that such words could be spoken, such thinking could persist even now when we stand at the very heart of our disasters. The Indian Empire in some few weeks may fall and, falling, end many hopes. In that collapse, which may prove illimited, Ghandi's doctrines and action will carry a heavy share of responsibility. Yet the fact remains that the thoughts and desires of this adamant old man are in strict accord with the purest of the reasons for which—in 1939 even more than in 1914—our brothers accepted to die.

Thus one of this war's most tragic circumstances will be that we are fighting for the very principles which weakened and disarmed us in a world where we should have lived armed to the teeth—and that to win our fight we now are constrained to action which leaves us, ourselves, deeply wounded.

We shall not conceal the extent of our setback, nor in the midst of such great ruin, the persisting gravity of our self-questioning. We shall not evade the problem; we recognize that all we held dear, all we sought, all we said, led inevitably to the most extreme positions held by the ascetic Hindu. For there are principles to which one does not assign a limit when they start living in the soul, principles which admit neither expediency nor concession; from the day on which one grants them entry their claims become devouring. This is the case with certain truths and even with certain justices; and I know of more than one man in whom these few words reaching us from India have reawakened questioning about the most agonizing of problems.

"Non-violence has accomplished more for our liberation than has any other attitude. Even for total independence we shall not renounce it. . . ." Not even for that total independence which he has sought passionately throughout his life. . . . What meaning can the moral law and its primacy over force have for us, and what is our love of freedom if our hearts fail to beat faster, if our hearts are dulled now and closed to such words?

What is our faith in spiritual values and in the "primacy of the spiritual" if no longer we are in agreement—desperately in agreement—with a man who stands faced with the imminent ruin of his country and yet still proclaims: "Even if the Japanese were to invade India, I should not counsel my people to take up arms; nor should I ask them to come to terms with the aggressor. It is to the will to resist which is in their souls that I should turn. . . . If Japanese domination is to succeed British domination, then it will be against Japan that we will fight by means of passive resistance. And that struggle will enlist the best that is in us . . ."

Here is a struggle in which is arrayed against the enemy only that which is the "best in us"—not violence, nor hatred, nor any of the multifold incitements to hatred, to violence. Who then, among us, hearing such words, faced with such an example, does not feel in his secret soul the presence of an old problem, never entirely solved, together with the compulsion to face it anew?

A Christian reflects

In any case there is not a Christian but that he finds here a certain illumination and, as it were, the echoing of a certain voice which two thousand years ago spoke from the hills of Galilee. To peasants, to fishermen, to men in all sorts of states of life, unhappy for all sorts of reasons, that voice explained the conditions of happiness: poverty, tears, hunger, the thirst for justice and, also, the relinquishing of rights.

On that same day the same voice said these words also: "You have heard that it hath been said; an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But I say to you not to resist evil. But if one strike thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other: and if a man will contend with thee in judgment and take away thy coat, let go thy cloak also unto him . . ." No exegesis of detail, no subtle commentary, can withstand the evidence of a certain spirit constant and luminous everywhere throughout the Gospel. Instinctively every one of us feels that here is something which reaches to the core of Christianity.

And we know too that if there has been some advance in the conscience of man, it has been achieved, always, by moving toward the perfection of that spirit, and never by moving toward solutions of constraint, violence and force. We

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know, moreover, enough of history to be aware, with certitude, that almost all wars have been appallingly sterile; we are aware that violence and the might of arms have never weighed in the conflict of minds; that they do not reach the plane of the spirit, that they do not even touch the plane of the spirit. Consequently, we know that in a war, this war, in which we must recognize one of the most serious spiritual conflicts in history, armed victory, in itself, would end nothing, solve nothing.

It will not do

Yet when all is said and done, we will not take Ghandi's position. We will not take his position because, first of all, his stand implies the responsibility for too serious a risk—a risk, we believe, no man has ever had the right to assume. In a world in which the finest realities—and even the worst—are relative and complex, absolute solutions too often involve a disorder more harmful than the evils they seek to solve.

In the present situation Ghandi's stand is clear, and we know that he is ready to die in its defense. He admits the possibility of a pro-fascist movement arising in India under the impulse of a Japanese victory. In that case "all they can do to me is to kill me. And I shall die. But if they allow me to live, I shall oppose their policy through non-violence till my last breath." He has for nazism and for fascism a horror as great as our own. He differs, therefore, with us only as to the means of conquering them. We do not deny all there is of true nobility in the stand he takes, we do not fail to recognize the purity there is in his weapons; at times we are near yielding to the fascination of that absolute. Yet in our urgent peril, the extreme necessity of which has us by the throat, and when all that we respect and all that we love is directly threatened, we know in all certainty that we possess the right to use means in themselves less pure, but more immediately, more probably, effective.

In this lovely morning, in this sunlight—and outside my window the plane trees are in bud on every branch—I read the desolate news from France. What we think, what I think, of Pierre Laval and of the sordid level at which he places the interests and the honor of his country, and my country—does Ghandi think in like fashion of us, of all of us, of our use of cannon to save the world? . . .

"To master the Germans and the Japanese by weight of arms, we would have to be stronger than they are, consequently more cruel and more harmful. In that process we would gain nothing. . . . On the contrary those peoples who struggle without using violence are unconquerable. Their strength does not lie in a given predominance of rifles, of machine guns . . ." Has our "Christianity" less faith, a hope less highly placed, than has this obstinate Hindu? I do not know . . . I think that "Christianity" has of the temporal destiny of the world a more somber conception and, in a sense, a more discouraged conception than is Ghandi's. Fundamentally Ghandi's thought is to the effect that the "saints," the holy men, always end by conquering the world. And we, we are not sure that the saints always end by conquering the world. . . . A long and hard experience has taught us that there are few saints and an immense flock of weak men and that surrounding their human frailty there must be provided very humble assurances of security, innumerable safeguards, a very modest minimum of well-being, if we are to protect their fragile life, their frail hearts. Lest the little they are capable of be rendered impossible. The Church is not in her first youth; she is an anxious mother. For centuries she has known that "persecutions make more apostates than martyrs." She remembers a certain dark passage in the Gospel: "But yet the Son of man, when he cometh, shall he find, think you, faith on earth?"

All this explains much that is concession, much that is patience and, finally, the resigned acceptance of the dread evil of war when for a time it preserves from a worse fate those who no doubt would not have strength to endure the test. Since, therefore, there exists the right, to some extent the sacred right, of the frail not to be tempted beyond the measure of their fragile strength, it falls upon society acting through the state to ensure this right. Even by armed force. Thus on occasion the obligation to have recourse to war exists.

Ghandi drives an entire people to spiritual heroism—and it is true that he strengthens thereby the principle of that heroism itself—yet he cannot act as he does without simultaneously exposing countless souls to the worst contaminations of the spirit. Once again we do not believe that he is, or can be, justified in assuming responsibility for such a risk.

Further reasons

There are, however, other and more profound reasons that separate us from Ghandi. Strict and exacting reasons. We will not take his position because the natural law and, within each one of us, the feeling and the very instinct of justice incessantly remind us that the innocent victim of aggression has an absolute right to defend himself and be defended—and that such a defense may attack and imperil in the aggressor those things which the aggressor himself has attacked and imperiled, that is to say, both material goods and life itself. And if each one of us personally, for high spiritual reasons, may renounce the right of self defense, it remains true none the less that neither justice nor charity permit this renunciation so soon as there are others to defend. Thus

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Christianity which has never ceased to condemn war has never ceased also to affirm that he who takes up arms in a just war is fulfilling, purely and simply, his duty as a man.

Once these fundamental principles of justice are accepted it follows that we must stand apart from Ghandi. We must admit that his extreme purity of conscience, in the initial instant of its choice and act, wounds justice. But, admitting this, we shall be willing also to be judged by that conscience—ourselves, and our arms, and our purpose—willing in this same sharp light also to be examined, and justified.

Unhesitatingly we separate our position from that of Ghandi. But his rash decision, and I would even say his injustice, must remain for the Christian nations that are in arms as a terrible sign in the skies. As the sign of God.

That decision of his and that injustice will remind us of the exacting claims of justice. For instance that the defense and the saving of the innocent who have been attacked do not justify the use of unjust means. They will remind us of our own responsiblity in this infernal cycle of modern wars in which the evil, the hatred and the cause of wars incessantly have been reborn the one from the other. They will remind us how many just wars have been soiled by the most discreditable hidden aims and how often, also, most impure wills and hands have disposed of the lives and sufferings of millions of men for illegitimate reasons of state.

Finally they will remind us that in perpetually protecting the life of the spirit by the use of material force one risks weakening that spiritual life and rendering it a prisoner within the narrow limits of the ramparts that protect is. A light under a bushel is guarded from the wind—it is still under a bushel.

It will not be light-heartedly that we shall stand aside from Ghandi; it will be with our hearts most heavily burdened and filled with bitterness, remembering as we must that all that today inspires his decision for a long time was the matter itself for inner conflict in the minds of many of us during the period between the two wars. And if today we have made our choice, at least we have not made it without having suffered, without having measured clearly and bitterly the extent of our disappointment and our failure.

No disavowal

And, too, most certainly, our choice holds in it no disavowal. We are leaving Ghandi but we are not passing into the other camp; we remain in Ghandi's camp. These things must be said and said again; even if Ghandi refuses to fight, we shall still be fighting for ideals which we hold in common with Ghandi. Whether we know it or not, whether we wish it or not, we are fighting for certain values and for certain principles which the perilous decision taken by this aged man has placed in jeopardy, but which, nevertheless, are contained also in that decision at their extreme limit and development—and perhaps even, in a certain manner, in their perfection. And now that we are fighting, and so have left Ghandi, we do not for an instant propose to disavow these ideas; on the contrary, stumbling in the dark, we propose to lay open the way for their coming.

Such is the compelling tragedy of this war; the spirit, the hopes which led Ghandi to his decision may today be most adverse to our cause, yet those hopes and that spirit represent what is at stake in the battle and the purest and highest of the aims for which we are fighting. Above all that is our immediate concern with the progress of the war, above the changing fate of empires, above and beyond even the claims of immediate justice, they mark and determine the deeper meaning of the bloody ordeal through which we are passing. They provide the only human meaning the war can have; I would say the only "Christian" meaning that any war can have today—a determination to achieve the spiritual renewal of the world. And if this war—despite its destructive realities—is not a step forward toward that spiritual ideal from which Ghandi derives his strength, then it is not worth while fighting it; we will be moving toward Hitler, toward Mussolini—once again, victory will be achieved in vain.

And so in this madly perilous decision of Ghandi's, we find one of the crucial points, and by that very fact, one of the sharpest spurs to conscience, in all this immense conflict. It is fitting therefore to maintain the discussion at its proper, and very high level, and in its true light—and not permit intellectual dishonesty to debase it as recently as we have seen it happen in the newspapers. We know of course that by many people any such debate will be considered highly inopportune. But he who fights for justice and truth fights also with justice and with truth: and consequently, denies himself the use of certain weapons. He denies himself, for instance, the use of any summary unification, of any regimentation of mind and thought in warlike disciplines.

More than a few, reading these reflections, will feel that they do not present a particularly happy picture of our temporal destiny—and that the progress of the human conscience decidedly is very slow. When we enter into our rest we shall see, possibly, that we have only advanced by a few thoughts, by a few steps, in the dark, and along what strange roads. Yet the light comes to us from a certain direction; dawn will come from a certain point in the horizon and not from another. We know even now that with all our soul we stand facing in the direction from which the light, still gray, ever is becoming brighter.

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Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

THE New York *Times* on last Monday, June 8, began the publication of a series of six articles distributed by the Religious News Service maintained by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and written by Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, foreign secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, under the general title of "Churchmen Who Defy Hitler," the first article being devoted to the Catholic Bishop of Muenster, Count Clemens August von Galen. Presumably this most important series of articles is being used by many other daily newspapers in addition to the New York *Times,* for the Religious News Service has been persistent and patient in its many years of building up its work, and it may be that at long last the neglected truth that religious news in the daily press deserves far better treatment than it has been accustomed to receiving is being recognized by the controllers of the press. Only a few days ago the New York *Times* published the entire text of the joint pastoral letter of the German hierarchy, read from the pulpit in all Catholic churches in Germany on last Passion Sunday. The next day it gave editorial space to a discussion of the pastoral letter. What the *Times* is thus taking the lead in doing will, let us hope, become common practice in our daily papers.

The importance of full and authoritative Catholic cooperation in this extension of well-done, really professionally competent news writing and interpretation to the field of religious interests in secular journalism should be manifest to our leaders; but as yet there are no signs visible that adequate action is being taken. Our own central news service, the NCWC, still pursues the policy of confining its material to the diocesan papers. There is a certain amount of Catholic participation in the press department of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, as in all the other departments of that useful organization; but it is still unhappily true that in many parts of our country the emphasis of our leaders' influence is against rather than for cooperation. The cleavage that runs between Catholics and their Protestant and Jewish fellow citizens in many parts of our country, indeed, seems of late to have broadened and deepened most painfully and alarmingly. Surely, in view now of the terrible dangers faced by all Americans, made acute by the world war, but apparent even more strikingly in the world revolution, the common interests of Catholics, Protestants and Jews in preserving and extending our American system of religious and civic liberty should outweigh the reasons for segregation and separation that have prevailed too largely in the past.

Let us hope that the recent despatch from Berne, Switzerland, with Reuter as its source and attributed to "the Catholic Press Agency," to the effect that an important new pastoral letter from Germany's Catholic bishops, "defining the rights of men," was read from all pulpits on Whitsunday, is true, and that our secular press will obtain the text and give it to the general public. The letter read on Passion Sunday dealt most particularly with the nazi assault upon the Catholic Church, although dealing with that assault in its aspect of a general and broader attack upon all human rights, human freedom and human spirit; but the Whitsunday letter, apparently, enlarges the ground traced by the Passion Sunday letter. Other reports that have filtered out of Germany and other parts of Europe lately have stressed the close cooperation, and mutual assistance, prevailing among Protestants, Jews and Catholics. In Great Britain, indeed, this cooperation has become formal as well as popular and unofficial, with the authoritative leaders of the organized religions closely associated in their present efforts to alleviate the burdens of war, and in the consideration of plans for the future.

It would be an historical irony of the most piteously undesirable kind if in the United States, with our traditions, practice and philosophy and laws of religious liberty, the cleavage between religious and racial groups should increase even whilst in Europe, the original breeding grounds for such cleavages, the ancient wounds are being healed. That danger, unfortunately, exists; but in comparison with the deeper desire for cooperation produced by our national peril it is, as yet, a manageable and not uncontrollable peril. But it is high time that its management and control be organized on a scale commensurate with its importance.

Communications

RUSSIAN CLAIMS

Jacksonville, Florida.

TO the Editors: Dealing with the claims of Moscow to the Karelian Isthmus, the little Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia, a part of Poland and of Rumania, Paul Mallon (King Features Syndicate) in his "News Behind the News" from Washington, June 7, gives us the impression that London was not prepared to grant any request by secret treaty. But Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen (United Feature Syndicate) in their "Merry-Go-Round" from Washington, June 7, noting that the American "reaction was negative," wrote that "a Russian emissary in London secured British agreement that Russia's pre-1914 borders would be reinstated. Roughly, they say, the Soviet is to get (1) the three Baltic States; (2) an eastern strip of Poland . . . (3) all of Bessarabia, Moldavia and Bukovina. . . . This British-Russian agreement was put before the United States and fireworks were expected."

It is urgent to enlighten public opinion as to what actually has been done by the British government; for this news is very disquieting. If the Pearson-Allen report is correct then the Atlantic Charter, and the Washington Declaration of the 26 States have been violated, the whole purpose of the war stands vitiated by this act of violence against the will of the peoples concerned, who now suffer aggression from Germany after having suffered aggression from Russia, and who tomorrow are

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destined to a permanent loss of liberty and independence.

Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania have been recognized as independent states by Soviet Russia herself since Lenin; they were members of the League of Nations. Poland is an allied Power and, with Russia, a signatory of the Atlantic Charter and the Washington Declaration. Rumania is an enemy power; but the Atlantic Charter creates moral responsibility on the part of the Allied Powers toward the peoples of the enemy States.

In making these observation, I do not attempt to define the future borders between these States and Russia. Such questions must be sent to the Peace Conference. Moscow, when the Atlantic Charter was signed, proclaimed her right over the territories under discussion. What right? That derived from the Russo-German treaty of August, 1939? But that was *res inter alias acta* (a thing made by others concerned—the Latin phrase is from Roman Law), and for the Allied Powers, from a legal point of view, inoperative. In morals that treaty of August, 1939, was a *pactum scelens* (pact for crime—Roman Law and moral Catholic theology).

LUIGI STURZO.

MIXED DIVISION

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: In your issue of February 13 there appeared an editorial on the blood bank entitled "Actions Lie Louder than Words." Well, they do: this editorial is one of the finest of your many fine statements on Negro-White relations. But its title brings us back—as I am sure is its intention—to the original saying, *Actions Speak Louder Than Words.*

I am interested in action. The Council Against Intolerance in America has proposed to the War Department the formation of a mixed (Negro-White) division in the United States Army. James Waterman Wise, Research Consultant for the Council, in a letter which recently went to the editors of college newspapers throughout the country, indicates the purpose of this project:

> The formation of such a division would do much to offset the danger to national morale inherent in the policy of segregation and would be of the greatest value in creating that national unity which is essential for victory. Moreover, the formation of such a mixed division would have significant and heartening effect on the morale of the hundreds of millions of allies in China, India and British Africa who would find it a concrete instance of the democratic ideal for which we are fighting.
>
> From Revolutionary War days, through the Civil, Spanish and First World War, the American Negro has a splendid history as a fighter (as a matter of record, two privates of the 369th Infantry—Negro—were the first Americans to be decorated with the Croix de Guerre in 1918). The proposal to form the mixed division was first made at a Victory through Unity Conference in New York City by Professor Alonzo Myers of New York University, who stated his conviction that "a man who is good enough to fight *for* me is good enough to fight *with* me."
>
> The Council Against Intolerance in America plans to send a delegation of prominent citizens to Washington to urge the formation of this division. But in order for the delegation to be effective, it is necessary first to secure many thousands of signatures from men who will express their willingness to serve in this division. As college men who will shortly be of draft age, your support for this undertaking is invaluable.

Your support in this undertaking is also invaluable. Will you urge your readers to sign this petition? It is imperative that action be taken now. Petitions can be obtained by writing to the Council Against Intolerance in America, 17 East 42 Street, New York, N. Y., or telephoning Vanderbilt 6-5584.

JOHN BECKER,
Public Relations Advisor,
Council Against Intolerance in America.

MONEY

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: Please allow me as General Secretary of the America Social Credit Movement to enter an emphatic denial that John G. Scott's publication, *Money,* is "a violently social credit journal," as it was described in your editorial note of May 29, a description that must have surprised Scott as much as it does us, since he has from time to time made splenetic remarks about American Social Credit and its leadership.

It is true that when *Money* was founded in 1936 it attempted to secure Social Credit backing by styling itself a "mass appeal Social Credit paper," but, receiving a cold shoulder, it soon desisted from this masquerade and became a forum for all sort of pint-sized "reformers," among them Robert Noble, indicted for sedition, George W. Christians, indicted for sedition, Edward Holton James, arrested for criminal libel of President Roosevelt, Willis Overholser, defender of Joe McWilliams, Rev. Gerald Winrod of anti-Semitic notoriety, and Mrs. E. Sohier Welch of Boston who has stated in public print her enthusiasm for Hitler's Germany. Of this crew Mrs. Welch, a member of *Money's* Policy Board, did join the American Social Credit Movement in 1938 but was brought up on charges in 1939 and *expelled* by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

Official Social Credit publications in our country—*New Democracy* and *Men First*—have consistently exposed the drift to fascism in *Money's* pages.

Despite the fact that *Money* occasionally lifted a paragraph or two from foreign Social Credit papers, this does not make it a Social Credit organ but only a nuisance, a source of confusion for money reform simpletons. *Money* followed the Lindbergh line and finally received in July, 1941, a comradely salute from a writer in the anti-Semitic *Publicity,* now suspended while its owner and editor answer sedition charges. This writer told *Publicity's* readers that "Mr. Scott is a pure Christian American from the far West, fighting your fight here in JEW YORK."

I can assure you that all American Social Creditors will hail *Money's* disappearance as good riddance. Our slogan, which we have plugged from 1933 onwards, is: "No Fascism—No Communism—Social Credit is the Only Remedy."

GORHAM MUNSON.

Editors' Note. It was certainly not our intention in any way to associate John G. Scott's *Money* with the Social

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Credit Movement, as officially constituted. Hence we used the phrase "social credit journal" without capital letters. Obviously, also, the intellectual level at which *Money* operates is very different from that of *New Democracy* or anything with which Mr. Munson could conceivably be connected. Mr. Munson's listing of some of *Money's* contributors does not in any way affect the issue discussed in our editorial. Since when does *association* with persons accused of sedition make a man seditous? The facts are: *Money* has been debarred from the mails, and it has not contained anything we could discover, after careful examination, to be seditious. We can, however, understand the Social Credit Movement's desire to dissociate itself from *Money,* and regret it if what we wrote gave any reader a false impression.

The Screen

Give My Regards to Broadway

TO THE list of films that owe their success to the performance of a single star must now be added *"Yankee Doodle Dandy."* The star is James Cagney, whose acting as George M. Cohan is a treat to behold. Not that Cagney really looks like Cohan or merely imitates him; better than that he suggests and interprets the famous song-and-dance man. In fact the whole film, excellently produced by Hal Wallis and brilliantly directed by Michael Curtiz, is a paean of praise—with the flag-waving Irish-American as the central figure. Realism takes a back seat as the Cohan legend is told and sung to us in cinema's colorful lyrical style. Of course some of the facts are slipped into the outline that's sketched from July 4, 1878, when George was born, practically with a flag in his hand, until 1940, which is the date given for "I'd Rather Be Right," the musical in which Cohan does his interpretation of President Roosevelt.

Sprinkled in between these dates (the whole thing is done in a flashback as Cohan tells his story to the President) are a series of scenes that show the Four Cohans in their struggles and successes, the rise of George from a vaudeville performer to Broadway's best loved dancer-singer-actor-director-producer, George's romance with Mary, his partnership with Sam Harris, and the spread of Cohan's fame as each new song hit was sung throughout the country. These songs would be a major attraction to any show. But with the good production given them here, with the costuming, dancing and singing as scenes from the various Cohan shows are done, they are a thrill in entertainment. The songs themselves are an orgy of nostalgia and patriotism: "Yankee Doodle Boy," "Grand Old Flag," "So Long Mary," "Harrigan," "Mary Is a Grand Old Name," "Over There." And as Cagney dances, romps, walks, cocks his head, twinkles his eyes in the Cohan manner, each song is greeted with a burst of applause.

James Cagney's Cohan-style dancing is almost as good as having Cohan himself dancing before us. But Cagney is by no means alone in the film. He is well supported by Walter Huston, Rosemary DeCamp, Jeanne Cagney, Richard Whorf, Joan Leslie (whose simplicity and pleasant personality are charming as Mary). And Cohan himself merits a hand for having written these good songs and for living the legend here portrayed.

Broadway comes in for its full glorification from Hollywood these days—not today's darkened, wartime Broadway, but the glittering, bright great-white-way. For some reason Producer Bruce Manning's remake of the old, decidedly dated, Philip Dunning-George Abbot play, *"Broadway,"* starts in the present. George Raft, playing himself as movie star George Raft, arrives in New York, strolls down Broadway, reminisces back to 1926 and the days when he was a hoofer in a speakeasy. He proves his point that the biggest hicks in the world are Broadwayites. Although William A. Seiter's direction is good, he can't make us believe in this melodrama of the days of sugar daddies, gorillas and their molls, silk-shirted racketeers. Perhaps the times were too fabulous.

Those were the strange days of "I'm Just Wild About Harry," "Sweet Georgia Brown," prohibition, bootleggers and hey-hey. Raft is in good form, dancing, being soft, being tough as the script requires. Brod Crawford is appropriately sinister, pasty and mean as the killer-bootlegger. Pat O'Brien plays the detective in that casual half-shut-eyed-but-sure-of-himself manner that his fans adore.

Janet Blair is the very cute chorus girl with whom George hopes to team up, but for whom Crawford has other ideas. And there's Marjorie Rambeau as the tired war horse; and there are miscellaneous gangsters and chorus girls to put life and death into the scene. The pace and quick turnover of those roaring twenties are best summed up in a toast drunk to Crawford: "May he make plenty of money and live to spend it." The quality of the law is summed up in the detective's overlooking the chorine who bumps off the villain. All this seems only like a story out of the past—those days of bath-tub gin and St. Valentine's Day massacres—may they never come back.

Then, there's also another melodrama called *"Dr. Broadway,"* which opens with a nerve-wracking scene with the heroine standing on the ledge of a tall building above the crowds; and it closes with a similar episode that leaves you wet-handed. In between the two thrills are a series of phoney events that portray Broadway not as it ever was, but as the picture people like to think the hicks think it was.

Its main character is a fabulous hero, Dr. Broadway, who is always helping broken down Cinderellas and other saddened individuals along the famous street. Practically everyone loves and knows him—except the gangsters who are trying to get the hundred grand that Doc B. has promised to give to an ex-convict's daughter. The film's main asset is Macdonald Carey who proves a welcome addition to Hollywood. Even in this false item he exhibits a likeable, straightforward personality and an acting ability which can be put to good use in cinema, but do not make "Dr. Broadway" palatable.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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Books of the Week

National Capital

Washington Is like That. W. M. Kiplinger. Harper. $3.50.

IF YOU have been confused by what has been happening in and to Washington in recent years, here at last is the explanation for you. Mr. Kiplinger, who since 1923 has written a weekly news-letter on Washington's impact on business, has with the help of a score of other writers, mostly of his own staff, set forth in this book a report of how official and social Washington lives, works, plays, and of what it has been trying to do.

Mr. Kiplinger undertook to do a straight reporting job; and this he has done well. He does not take sides. Neither does he dodge disagreeable subjects. He simply explains in words that anyone can understand what has been going on and why. The result is doubtless the best book on Washington to have appeared in two decades or more.

The sweep of Mr. Kiplinger's book is tremendous. It deals with Washington as a city in which people live. It deals with Washington as the national capital. It tells how the New Deal government functions. It tells how the President operates, how the cabinet works, how important departments and commissions function. It explains the army and navy set-up, and how they go about winning the war. It explains how the new Supreme Court does its jobs. It gives brief biographies of leading personalities. It tells you how to go about getting a federal job, how to get free government books and pamphlets, how to plead a special cause and how to lobby a bill through Congress. In fact there are few things about Washington that you might want to know that it does not tell.

A book that covers so much must necessarily cover some of it sketchily. Its chapter on the press corps, for instance, is weak and inadequate, but its chapter on the farm program is the best that this writer has seen anywhere and one of the few explanations that really explain all its intricacies. The chapter on lobbying is also good, and so are the chapters on labor, on women in government, on the money spenders, on social security, and on the G-Men and crime.

On the whole Mr. Kiplinger does a good job for the space he has available.

He deserves special thanks for having the courage to devote chapters to Negroes and equality and to Jews in Government.. To each of these subjects he brings fairness, tolerance and plain common-sense. His book should silence many of the gossipers.

"Washington Is like That" brings its facts right up to the minute of publication. This dates it. Let us hope that Mr. Kiplinger and his publishers may be able to keep it up to date in later editions in the years to come, for such a book is needed by news editors, radio commentators, school teachers, and all students of the American scene.

This volume is, of course, equally valuable to the banker, the business man, the New Deal haters and all intelligent and sincere citizens who want to know what is happening in Washington and the nation.

NEIL MACNEIL.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The People's Business. Joshua K. Bolles. Harper. $2.00.
Consumer Cooperative Leadership. Filene Fund. $1.25.

THE constant stream of new books on consumers cooperatives, war or no war, gives testimony to the vitality of the movement. It shows that real strides are being made toward economic democracy in the United States. There are so many recent volumes on the subject that at times a hard-pressed reviewer finds himself wishing that there were fewer and better ones. He feels that there would be a lot to be said for a good standard, comprehensive, up-to-date volume on the subject. The latest two square off at restricted aspects of consumer cooperation with limited results.

It does not take long to agree with the publisher's blurb that "The People's Business" is very much a newspaper man's account of co-ops in the US. It is a modest volume of 150 pages which simply does one thing—sketchily describes the various successful forms of American cooperative enterprises by types. In so doing it provides a convincing riposte to the ignorant charge that American co-ops don't amount to much—that they are small fry, unable to stand intelligent competition and in fact not accomplishing enough worthwhile to matter. The book also does perform a real service by intimating in some detail what the Negroes could do to better their status by adopting cooperative techniques. In sum, this fairly superficial volume of group success stories has a place in an anxious, doubting world and it is gratifying to be able to report that Mr. Bolles is a highly readable journalist.

The Filene compilation is far more businesslike for it deals directly with the brass tacks of running a cooperative store. Techniques are often presented in cold outline form. It is highly realistic. It holds, despite the dissenting view it prints from the Eastern Cooperative Wholesale, that the store must be a complete food market (including a butcher shop) to succeed in the city. It must be able to count on 350 to 400 active members and a minimum business volume of $1,500 a week. To set it up required a minimum of $9,000 original capital under pre-war conditions. There is nothing starry-eyed about the compilers of this competent volume.

To the untutored there is nothing terribly complicated about running a small store. But even a glance at this well-thought-out book, with its remarks on location, financing, equipment, management, committees, public relations and the rest, is enough to demonstrate quite the reverse. No wonder half the new retail stores set up within the United States fail within a year. Curiously enough this matter-of-fact outline of the techniques of running a store gives the general reader a better idea of the objectives and methods of the consumer cooperative movement than many more ambitious and discursive volumes. Needless to say, for any group thinking of organizing a cooperative store it is indispensable.

EDWARD SKILLIN, JR.

FICTION

Faith the Root. Barbara Frances Fleury. E. P. Dutton. $2.50.

IF YOU want to forget war and bitterness for a time, if you need a change of air but must spare your tires, take Barbara Frances Fleury's "Faith the Root" and go up to your room. Close the door, turn off the radio, open the book. You can at least for a time achieve a change

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of thought. You will find yourself in a pleasant waterfront town in Michigan. You will, of course, call on "Father Jerry." You may not even learn that his real name is Father Germain; but while you await your turn in the rectory you will see all the villagers as they come to him. They will come alone mostly, happy ones, disturbed ones, Catholic, Lutheran or of uncertain convictions. Perhaps you will hear him say with deep sincerity and sympathy and good sense:

"We do not understand. We do not ask to understand, if we are wise. This is not a time to ask you to be resigned to God's Will. Your ears are closed now to all but your misery. Kneel down and I will give you my blessing."

And you too will hope for a blessing from that knotty but consecrated hand.

It is a difficult task to review a book of which only pleasant things may be said. It's a little undramatic, there is no struggle. But this is an interesting book even if everything is as it should be! A devout and devoted priest is the center of all the parish and village life. All the drama of birth and maturing, of love and death, should somehow touch as it does, "Father Jerry," who has learned so well to be all things *to* them all, and bravely endures the loneliness of not being of the life that revolves around him.

But, of course, for every human crisis there is a sacrament to be administered by the priest, who knows when his children have need of him. Would it be irreverent to speak of the psychology of the sacraments, or would it be in some measure appreciative of God's arrangements?

Miss Fleury has shown us the priest, the father, always close to his people. There is mystery in "Faith the Root"; and murder, bucolic charm and simple living, tolerance and brotherly love. There is tender affection and mutual respect of Protestant minister and Catholic priest. We meet the lonely figure of the priest's housekeeper, respectful, adoring, almost maternal. It is all so vividly written that we have personally known each character.

Miss Fleury's style is womanly only because it is keen and sensitive. It is never fussy or ornate. She has written with fine insight and economy; she uses suspense and climax very neatly. You will find "Faith the Root" serene, interesting, charming. JOHANNA DONIAT.

The Company She Keeps. Mary McCarthy. S. & S. $2.50.

THIS "novel in six parts" is actually a collection of six short stories which deal from different points of view with episodes in the life of a pseudo-intellectual young woman on her own in New York. The heroine is the product of a broken home, who has rebeled against the pietistic training of her coarse Irish Catholic aunt, yet failed to assimilate herself to the genteel world of her Yankee Protestant father. Since she is both intelligent and highly emotional, the conflict induces neurosis and the gradual disintegration of character when after college she attempts to earn her living in the glorified white-collar worker world. Unstable in herself, she seeks satisfaction from the masculine company she keeps—a conventional first husband, a tricky art-dealer, a big business executive, a salonist, a bright young liberal journalist, a middle-class second husband. She ends up in hysterical frustration in a psychoanalyst's office, trying to restore her lost self-respect and order her chaotic world with the aid of a science in which she believes as little as she does in God.

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The book is brilliantly written, and evokes with a sometimes malicious accuracy of detail the life of one social group in the disordered 1930's. The author seemingly had in mind the writing of "A Portrait of the Intellectual as a Young Woman," but her book is more like a little magazine version of "Kitty Foyle," with focus on the more lurid episodes.

MASON WADE.

HISTORY

Kings and Desperate Men. Louis Kronenberger. Knopf. $3.50.

MR. KRONENBERGER gives us a richly patterned and richly colored tapestry on which certain figures, emblematic of some aspects of their age, are brought out in bold relief. He does not conceive the eighteenth century in England as many of us are apt to think of it—as a few decades of comparative (and rather putrescent) stagnation in society and politics, lying between two eddying periods of violence and change. For the whirlpool of Queen Anne's time especially engages him; and England is facing the French Revolution before his survey ends. In choosing his scenes and figures he wisely sacrifices breadth to depth. Pelhams and Grenvilles, Blackstones and Benthams, Bakewells and Arkwrights, even Berkeleys and Paleys are left for writers of a different type. Nor does his account of "desperate men" extend from the hungry and the criminal to those who suffered so cruelly for religious faith. What he principally aims at is to take us on a sight-seeing tour of places where men and women endowed with wealth, position, knowledge and brains especially congregate; and then transport us to slums and jails of which the very stenches still reach us. In the upper realms—in drawing room, pump room or common room, in coffee house or famous club—he stops to introduce us to great figures of his own eclectic eighteenth century. Among these, men and women of letters quite naturally predominate.

It is a very successful effort on the whole. Even those with sufficient knowledge of the ground to be critical from time to time will enjoy a tour with an enterprising conductor who not only possesses an appreciation of the significant, but can offer shrewd comment. "That character was anything you should wrestle with, that power was anything you felt responsible about—this was the nonsense of cranks" in the eyes of most of the eighteenth century aristocracy. For "such people felt that their positions derived from something obscure and ultimate like God." When it comes to the introductions, the book often rises to sheer brilliancy. After reading a portrait study such as that of Swift one pauses in instinctive homage to Mr. Kronenberger's knowledge, insight and sensitivity. He shows only one limitation in treating of individuals—some apparent intolerance towards conservative viewpoints. At any rate, Bolingbroke is presented as a mere "scoundrel" devoid of political philosophy, and Burke's production of the *Reflections*—surely one of the most profound and reasoned defenses of conservatism ever penned—is stigmatised as an act utterly deplorable. But, after all, such estimates are matters of opinion; and even those who may dissent from them most vehemently will have plenty to admire and to enjoy.

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PHILOSOPHY

Science and Man. Edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen. Harcourt. $4.00.

MOST of the twenty-four chapters of this book are each contributed by a big name in university work. In addition there is a foreword and a conclusion by the editor. The authors represent the various sciences and philosophy. As would be expected with such a heterogeneous assemblage, there is no great unanimity of opinion expressed, even though the editor, in her retrospect, emphasizes that there is. For example, in that same chapter she calls for a greater emphasis upon metaphysics as the one possible road out of the perplexing state of modern society; yet perusal of the other chapters clearly indicates that most of the authors believe that science itself must find the way to a better world, and they lay this tremendous task upon the shoulders of the social scientist. Actually there is perhaps about the same degree of agreement as to details as one finds in the Saturday night symposium of a country store.

In the avowed effort to deal comprehensively with man, some of the chapters are entirely factual while others are abstract and argumentative. In the first category Ales Hrdlicka writes an elementary and very readable section on the evolution of man; Reinhold Niebuhr gives us an interesting chapter on the history of religion; Harold C. Urey discusses industrial relations of science, and Waldemar Kaempffert very objectively views the influence of general society on the intellectual worker. On the abstract side Jacques Maritain recites the scholastic view, and Ralph Barton Perry concerns himself with the nature of "value." For the most part the other chapters are mixed in character. Good presentation, relative soundness and general commendability are a characteristic of the majority of the chapters. Arthur H. Compton's essay would make an excellent commercial club speech given in appreciation of a "bigger and better" something, but such superficiality is rare.

This book is not likely to be read by many people, which is a shame. A greater shame it is that some of those who read it will not think enough about it to perceive its extreme significance. The significance is, in a way, hidden, for it rests not so much upon what is written in its pages, but upon the very existence of the book. Its avowed purpose is to examine man in his relation to science and science in its influence on man with the ultimate objective of improving man's state. It is not just a material improvement that is sought. The general attitude is that science and technology have created certain spiritual problems and that the remedy is not a novena, but further scientific attack upon those problems. Julian Huxley is hopeful of the result. He says, "As the barber-surgeon of the Middle Ages has given place to the medical man of today, with his elaborate scientific training, so the essentially amateur politician and administrator of today will have been replaced by a new type of professional man, with specialized scientific training. Life will go on against a background of social science. Society will have begun to develop a brain."

This book calmly presents facts and arguments. There is no effort at subtle indoctrination. In this regard it is essentially an expression of the high point of Protestant culture. But this very book, its science and the culture which caused it to be written and published, is being made the basis and background for a group that is employing indoctrination with perhaps as much effectiveness

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as Catholicism has ever employed it. The reference is to communism. Catholics did not need to fear greatly Protestantism because for some time it has been weak on indoctrination. Now the situation is different. The opponent is indoctrination, and a system based upon science as a bible. The tenor of the age makes the outcome questionable. The reviewer believes that we should agree that the proper procedure is not a Mussolini, a Coughlin, a stooge Franco or window dressing that purports to be science. If those who direct indoctrination would only cease rebuffing those who could help! Let us, with a democratic spirit, be cognizant of the suggestion made by Edwin Grant Conklin in his chapter on ethics. It is: "There would be great gain for the world if organized religion and organized science could cooperate more effectively in the promotion of practical ethics."

J. MC A. KATER.

More About Books

By SAMPLER

THIS SPRING there have been a number of solid volumes published the interest of which is in one way or another religious. Most of them are too specialized to warrant extended treatment, in reviews of their own, and some of them are not even suited to such treatment. Brief reports on six of them are here submitted. First of all, 1942 marks the publication of the first English concordance to the Bible based on Catholic translations and specifically intended for Catholic use. It has been compiled by the Reverend Newton Thompson and Mr. Raymond Stock, and is published at a very reasonable price—$7.50 (Herder). Every layman and priest who has occasion to cite passages from Holy Writ, certainly every library of any importance, should find this literary tool indispensable.

Another tool has been constructed by the Bishop of Peoria, the Most Reverend Joseph H. Schlarman ("Catechetical Sermon-Aids," Herder, $5.00). Naturally this volume will appeal almost entirely to those who must preach sermons, yet the quality of the contents is such that a layman might profitably use the book in connection with his own devotions. Certainly he is (sadly enough) very little likely to hear anything of similar quality from the pulpit of his own parish church—unless Bishop Schlarmann's book sells in such vast quantities as to effect a reform in that very sickly thing, the American sermon. "Catechetical Sermon-Aids" is arranged in accordance with the liturgical year and provides three years' material for every Sunday and feast day. The matter is definitely suggestive rather than "canned." Most of it is drawn from the Gospels, the Fathers and the symbolic practice of the Church in her Liturgy.

What might almost be called a religious curiosity—though that would be too harsh a name—is "The Book of Margery Kempe," which now appears in magnificently definitive form as No. 212, Original Series, Early English Text Society (Oxford, $6.50). Margery Kempe was a fifteenth century English woman from Lynn who experienced violent mystical events, went all over Europe on pilgrimages, and left us an account of her religious life composed by two amanuenses. Parts of this have been printed before and have enjoyed their periods of popularity; here is the first carefully edited text (prepared by Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen), with full critical apparatus. A second volume is to follow, which will contain among other matter large extracts from fifteenth century English translations from Continental works of feminine piety. Margery's text is largely devoted to descriptions of the visions she had, most of them having to do with the life of Our Lord, and to accounts of her travels. The latter occasionally have a spark of secular interest. But what is most striking is the general tone of the whole book, which to me at least seems to forecast the evangelical spirit which was later to characterize so much English and German Protestantism.

Professor Charles Rufus Morey of Princeton University is one of America's ablest and most celebrated archeologists, and since his field of specialization is Christian art, whatever he produces should command the attention of any reader interest in religious history. He always writes with fine objectivity combined with sympathy toward religion—characteristics which do not always distinguish scholarship of the sort. "Early Christian Art" (Princeton, $7.50) develops in detail one of Mr. Morey's favorite objects of study—the process whereby the pagan art of antiquity became the fully Christian art of the middle ages. His subtitle is admirably descriptive: "An outline of the evolution of style and iconography in sculpture and painting from antiquity to the eighth century." The book is beautifully printed and supplied with many plates; one could have wished that some of these were a little clearer, but better photographs are probably not available.

Another scholarly production which will attract its quota of readers is Cecil Roth's "A History of the Jews in England" (Oxford, $5.00). It is sad reading—at least much of it is. But its concluding paragraph is worth quoting in full: "The alembic of English tolerance has operated by now on the newer arrivals [1880-1905] as well. Their sons have taken part in English life, contributed to English achievement, striven for England's betterment, shed their blood in England's wars. In this happy land they have attained a measure of freedom (and thereby of collaboration) which has been the case in scarcely any other. That this has been possible is due in no slight measure to the process of Anglo-Jewish history—a gradual acceptance based on common sense rather than on doctrine, consolidating itself slowly but surely, and never outstripping public opinion. Hence it has been possible for the English Jews to exemplify how men can enter a society by methods other than descent, and to absorb traditions which are not those of their physical ancestors. If their reaction to privilege has been to deserve it, it is because they have the good fortune to possess as their inheritance two noble histories."

The Maryknoll Fathers and Sisters have consistently set extremely high standards for everything they do. This has been preeminently true of their excellent publication, *The Field Afar*. John J. Considine's "March Into Tomorrow" (Field Afar, $2.00) is a volume notable for its typography and its many intensely human and competent halftones. It is a highly readable acount of the magnificent work of the Maryknollers in the Far East, enlivened by scores of adventures on the part of individual missioners. It is a matter of pardonable pride that Maryknoll is an American society. And it is consoling to realize at this moment that the native priests and Sisters trained by these intrepid missioners are carrying on. As to Maryknoll's view of the future: "Important and substantial as is the task of armies, the still more important task of building a finer and better world remains."

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The Inner Forum

International Press Conference

EARLY last month the first International Catholic Press Conference since the beginning of the war took place in London. As the *Catholic Herald* said, "No one could claim that it was a fully representative gathering," although visiting participants came from Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Holland, Jugoslavia, Malta, Norway, Poland and Switzerland. Many that were present were in England on other missions. The B.B.C. broadcast news of the conference to various countries on the European continent.

The conference was apparently marked by complete freedom of expression and the point was stressed that Catholic journalism must be independent of all states and governments in matters that concern its religious and moral role. Considerable attention was devoted to the organization of the international Catholic press after the war. The need of a timely, complete and independent worldwide news service, the setting of high professional standards and the development of more effective channels for giving the secular and religious press items of Church news and official translations of Church documents were suggested for common study preparatory to a more representative press conference after the war.

Jacques Boos of Switzerland declared that by overcoming national prejudices Catholics could collaborate more effectively for the good of the Church. Monsignor Kuhar of Jugoslavia said that the immediate task for the Catholic press after the war should be the cause of social relief. Dr. Prohoczka of Czechoslovakia called for lively and sustained interest in the problems of post-war Europe. Lieutenant Rembielinski of Poland spoke of mechanical advances in secular journalism and said that "the Catholic press must substitute for the materialistic idea of speed a higher and more spiritual ideal of veracity, exactness and a free mind."

Bishop Parker of Northampton address the journalists as "forerunners, and heralds and observers and voices in the wilderness [who] beat out a path . . . across the frontier mountains into enemy country. You . . . go where the official ministers of supernatural grace and truth cannot yet be received or heard."

CONTRIBUTORS

Helen ISWOLSKY has lived most of her life in France, where her father was the last Ambassador of the Czars, after having been Foreign Minister. She has recently written a book on Catholic intellectual and social movements in France between two wars, "Light Before Dusk."

Sister MARIS STELLA is a member of the faculty of the College of St. Catherine in St. Paul, Minn.

Rev. M. A. COUTURIER, O.P., is a French Dominican now resident in New York. He has been giving weekly lectures on art in Baltimore and has designed a number of sets of vestments for American priests.

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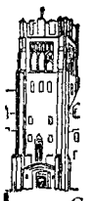

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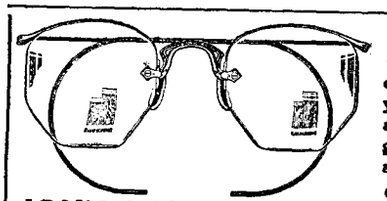

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